1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

857 Sometimes, when he is out with his flock, a boy will practice hockey or run dashes by himself. At other times he may straddle a stout piece of bamboo, pretending that it is a horse, and gallop about. He may even heighten the illusion by inserting bits of cloth at one end of the stick to serve as ears, and he may wind thread about one end for use as bridle and reins. Another favorite pastime is to collect bits of sticks and twigs, and to insert them into the ground in patterns that suggest houses, corrals, stables, animals, and similar familiar objects.

857 Girls may continue to tend sheep for an extended period of years, but boys are impatient to turn the duty over to a younger 868 sibling at the first opportunity. Thereafter, boys begin to go into the fields with the men, and they learn to handle horses and oxen, and to perform agricultural duties. They also begin to take hockey more seriously, and they attend matches played by teams of adults. They race and wrestle more vigorously, and they become skilled in the use of slings and bolas with which they hunt small animals. Their sisters, besides herding sheep, are learning to cook and weave and to run a household. Before long teen-aged boys and girls acquire all the skills of adults and begin to assume the tasks and responsibilities of grown men and women.

787 Preadolescent brothers and sisters enjoy great familiarity. 457 They joke and play together freely, sing, and tell stories. Occasionally, they test their fortitude, or allow their elders to do so, by burning bits of linseed wood or linseed straw against the skin of hand or arm. This custom, called *kopaw*, was once widely in vogue and had a special significance. Every child on the verge of puberty had four marks burned with linseed on the wrist and elbow joints, and these marks were supposed to light his way to the other world if he died. *Kopaw* is still commonly practiced. It is looked upon as a test of bravery, for a child who brushes off the bit of glowing coal is branded a coward. It also has the significance of a minor rite of divination, in the belief that no serious injury will result if a youngster is destined to grow into a healthy adult.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

764 away, or when fear of a contagious disease makes it seem wiser to burn the bedclothes.

764 Formerly it was a common practice to call in a *machi* or some special practitioner to perform a kind of autopsy in order 787 to determine the cause of death.[11] Although this custom is no longer widespread, a simple rite of divination still prevails. As soon as death has taken place, two dishes of parched wheat, carefully smoothed over, are put at either side of the head. Before sunrise next morning they are closely examined. If they show impressions of feet, or if the corpse's head has inclined sharply to one side or the other, it is supposed to mean that another death will soon occur in the neighborhood.

764 Burial is delayed for several days so that all who have been notified of the event may gather at the home of the deceased. Meanwhile, there is much feasting and drinking, with symbolic participation by the corpse. Preparations for interment are made as soon as relatives and friends have had time to assemble. The body is enclosed either in a conventional coffin or in an old-fashioned "canoe" made by bisecting a stout tree trunk lengthwise. Each half is then hollowed out, the body is put into the lower half, and the upper segment is fitted over it and tied on as a lid. Food, wine, tools, and offerings contributed by friends and acquaintances are placed inside.

On the day of the funeral the coffin and all associated gear are placed outdoors. Two pairs of orators, known as *weupins*, [537] representing the dead person's matrilineal and patrilineal connections, then deliver lengthy eulogies, during which they recite the life story of the departed one, call to mind his ancestry, dwell on his fine character, and make public his expressed wishes [765] for the disposal of his property. There is much wailing by relatives, sometimes augmented by professional mourners. Araucanian men as well as women are expected to grieve by weeping, and mournful blasts are emitted on the *trutruka*.

[11] According to Edwards (1909, p. 49) the personage who performs this office is called *expulcur*, but Smith (1855, p. 236) stated that *machi* make autopsies. A lengthy account of such a ceremony that took place in 1891 is given in Latcham (1909, pp. 363–70).

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

754 696 a broad-minded or kindly individual, or a leader who was willing to take a chance in order to augment his following.

Nowadays, for fear of retaliation, witches are neither killed nor driven away, but they may be induced to leave voluntarily by means of intensive whispering campaigns, or because their neighbors obviously shun them. In fact, it is part of the education of children to warn them to have nothing to do with people suspected of witchcraft. There is reason to believe that some of the Chilean Araucanians who go to Argentina are people under suspicion of being sorcerers.

WITCHCRAFT ACTIVITIES

754 Witches' sabbaths are supposed to be observed in underground caverns or *rewăs*. Almost all caves or depressions in the earth are likely to be regarded as *rewăs*, wherein dwell all manner of dangerous beasts whom the sorcerers use as familiars. Greatly feared in this context are a wide range of animals including lizards, snakes, foxes, butterflies, partridges, dogs, rats, and, particularly, any creatures of unfamiliar appearance, monsters, or freaks such as two-headed calves. The cries of many [787] birds, or the appearance of animals that unexpectedly cross one's path, are widely held to be portents of sickness and death. So deep-seated is the fear of unusual animals, that some Araucanians who visit the zoological gardens in Santiago come away convinced that the keepers and, by extension, all Chileans must be powerful witches.

754 776 Sorcerers exercise their power by controlling evil spirits, the entire class of which may be termed *weküfü*.[9] *Wekufü* occur in many guises, especially in the shapes of the aforementioned beasts and monsters, but they may also take other forms. Conspicuous among these are *piwichen*, a terrifying vampire, sight or sound of which is a sure portent of death, and *cheñchenü*, which is described as a human head equipped with wings. To see or hear it while it is in flight portends death. Whether

[9] Lenthan (1929, pp. 351 ff.) distinguished between *kuyfikeche* ("evil spirits") and *kuyfikecheyei* ("monsters"). He also set up separate categories for *kimpeuve* ("diviner") and *machi* ("witch doctor" or "exorcist").

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Woman's Counterreply

ʃeula anaí koñi
tami un meu
kimael ayüpen
ʃei-ula nay ñi piuke
ʃemül mi kimei
rume ayüeyu ula.

Free translation.—Just now, dear cousin (husband), I have heard what I wanted to hear from your own lips. Now my heart is restored to its proper place. If you do what is right, I shall love you more than ever.

Woman's Song No. 4

cod-cod peuma
küme peuman
ʃei neu ʃelen
ñi rumue küme füta.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a deer. It was a good omen, and that is why I find myself with my lovely husband.

Interpretation.—To dream of a deer is particularly auspicious. The deer is regarded as a gentle and good animal that never hurts anyone and never spoils or destroys anything. When a wife sings in this fashion, all the auditors congratulate the happy couple, who are in need neither of advice nor guidance.

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Woman's Song No. 5[19]

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rumel re ko peuman
ʃamguechí ñi konpayam
ko engu pod fotra kei
ʃei neu dungu ka lei.

Free translation.—I always dreamed only of clear water. That is how I thought things were going to be, but water and

[19]This song and the next two were termed pilmal kawn ("ironic" or "sarcastic") by Collío. According to him, songs of this type comprise an important form of social control among the Mapuche. Sometimes, it is the only way in which conduct can be regulated. For example, a man who beats his wife may be induced to stop if people are sarcastic to him.

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4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Efforts are now being seriously made to bring this race within the pale of civilization, and numerous schools and missions, Catholic and Protestant, have been established within their territories, which not only teach them religion and morals, but also instruct them in the rudiments of useful arts and employments.

Superstitions.—It should be clearly borne in mind that the Araucano as compared with the European is still in an infantile stage as regards intellect. These Indians, like all lower races, are very superstitious, and great believers in omens. Many of these superstitions are connected with animals or birds. Any event that does not fall within the scope or comprehension of their senses is regarded as the work of evil spirits. If they notice any unusual act of bird or beast, they immediately conclude that it is possessed. A fox, or puma that prowls round their hut by night, is a witch who has come to see what she can steal. On driving it away they take care to do it no bodily harm for fear of reprisals.

Many night birds are considered as forerunners of sickness or death when they utter their harsh cries in the neighbourhood of a dwelling. It is unlucky to meet thrushes and some other birds. If vultures followed the route of a war party, many of the number would return home, considering slaughter and defeat as inevitable. A fox, crossing the path of a similar party, indicated, by the way it took, the fate of the undertaking. If it passed to the left, they returned home, assured of the uselessness of proceeding. If on the other hand it turned to the right they were convinced of their triumph. When a dog bayed by night, it was a demon prowling round, on the look out to occupy somebody whose owner (pilli) was away, that is dreaming; and those that heard it woke their companions, to avoid such a misfortune. *If a horse jibbed or shied, it was because some spirit* (Asenovo) stopped the path, invisible to them, but which the animal could see. Humble-bees were considered as the ghost of some chieftain; frogs were the keepers and purifiers of water. A fire crackling or throwing out sparks announced visitors; sneezing violently while gambling brought them bad luck, as did also the twitching of the eyelids. They also imagine that any portion of the body is endowed with the qualities of the whole. Here we have the reason of their wearing the skins or heads of wild animals; that of the puma to give them strength and valour; of the fox for cunning; of the snake to enable them to crawl unseen among their enemies; eagles' feathers to make them rapid and fearless in the attack. They believe that the wearing of these articles endows the wearer with the qualities they represent.

It is curious to note to what extreme this belief was carried. Among the Huilliches it is a common thing to make their *dive* from the thigh bone of some celebrated player; while in the Cautin they ornament their horses' bridles with the tail of some celebrated racer.

Some dreams were unlucky. Thus, for instance, to dream of losing a tooth signified death to some member of the family, as did also a black dog or a white hawk (blackbird).

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SC4 Araucanians SC4

727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any ceremonial, each man taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

761 *Burials.*—All deaths, save those caused by battle or combat, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *kuweyes* or evil spirits had occasioned it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been
● 762 practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first
759 thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*rapun*), which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and viscous brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *canelo* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these spirits are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its circle for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *kuweyes* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wickerwork basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assemble before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with onslaughts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

4 Latcham F-5 (1898-1899) 1909 SC4 Araucanians SC4

and placed on a litter covered with branches of woods and laurel. The litter is borne to the burial ground on the shoulders of four of the nearest male relations. When the procession leaves the house the whole assembly utter shouts and lamentations, which are kept up till the funeral is over.

The graves are dug to the depth of about 4 feet, and are generally square in form.

The presents brought by the mourners are buried with the corpse, together with supplies of food, clothing and arms, to provide for his long journey. A cross is erected over the grave, and sometimes a horse, or the latter is buried with the corpse if the distance to the coast is considerable. With this sacrifice, the burial proper concludes, but the vigils and feasting continue till the provisions provided are entirely consumed, and sometimes last for several days.

Coronation.—The following account is abridged from notes taken on the spot during my stay among these Indians in 1893, when I was fortunate enough to be a personal witness of some of their principal ceremonies.

Colegüe (three lives or powers), head chief or apo-ulmen of the ullmenhue of the upper Cautín, had died suddenly, probably of apoplexy, during a feast in a neighbouring village. This manner of death, so uncommon among the Indians, there being no visible cause to explain it, was immediately set down to witchcraft. The corpse was brought home, attended by the whole population of the tribe where the death had taken place.

The machi, or medicine man, was sent for, and a messenger sent round by all sepos of the neighbouring villages to assemble with their corpe, or leaves. The machi arrived a little before eightfold. He was dressed after the fashion of the women, and had a puma skin hung round his loins and dragging behind him on the ground. In his right hand he carried a wand about 10 inches in length, covered with snake's skin and garnished with human teeth. Two assistants accompanied him carrying the instruments of his profession.

At sunset a few of green wands were lighted before the door of the rere ruca which were then a hundred persons gathered. From this fire arose a thick pungent smoke, which completely shrouded the entrance of the hut.

The machi took his stand in front of this fire, with arms extended, face upturned, and eyes unblinking for more than half an hour, inhaling without flinching the clouds of suffocating smoke that enveloped him, and seemingly lost to everything around him.

Suddenly he uttered unintelligible, and rushed into the hut, where the body was laid out on a bed of skins. When he did there, no one could tell, but after a short while he reappeared, showing signs of mental and bodily exhaustion.

The corpse was now brought out and laid on a rude bier near the fire. One of the assistants proceeded to strip it of its garments, after which he made an incision in the side a little above the hip, placing two sticks in the lips of the wound to hold them open. By this operation the liver was disclosed. The gall bladder was taken out, slit open, and the contents received in a small saucer-like

4 Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

759 787 ● vessel. A few embers were raked together, and the pan placed on them. Every now and then the machi would bend over and examine it intently.

The crowd, which was momentarily increasing, sat round at a respectful distance watching the proceedings with profound interest. Only a few of the nearest relatives were allowed within the inner circle, in the capacity of helpers. The whole scene was lighted by numerous torches.

When nothing remained in the saucer but a little sediment, it was taken from the fire, and again carefully examined by the machi. This sediment, which I afterwards saw, was of a dark brownish green colour. The examination finished, the machi declared that the deceased had died of black poison (*wecuwapyel*).

The relatives now insisted on his discovering the poisoner. At first, the machi seemed to demur and remained sitting in a crouching posture before the fire, his knees drawn up and his face buried in his hands. It was soon seen, however, that this pretended reluctance was only assumed for the purpose of obtaining greater promises of reward. At length his cupidity being satisfied he took a sudden resolve, and removing the point of his wand with the residue left in the saucer, he stalked among the ranks of cowering Indians, who now drew apart from each other, none knowing on whom the charge might fall, and although each knew himself innocent, fearful of being considered an accomplice if found conversing with the accused.

Recalling of the enumeration, the machi moved through the crowd, waving the stick in all directions, and crying aloud in a harsh voice, *Gueneapoo alkiew chee ooleipi kupa*—Lord of the earth, where is the wizard? *Pendiewen chi kupa*—Show me the wizard.

The Indians prostrated themselves before him, covering their heads with their ponchos, so that they should not be distinguished.

In the course of a quarter of an hour he had made the round of the whole assembly without, however, discovering what he sought. Returning to the fire, he threw on some fresh logs, and then stood for a long while buried in contemplation, while little by little the Indians recovered confidence. At last, he traced a circle on the ground, and stuck his wand upright in the centre. He then took from one of his assistants an earthenware jar, which he also placed within the circle. In this jar he placed a lock of hair cut from the head of the corpse, the paring of its finger nails, and several threads drawn from the garments it had worn at the time of its death. Making several passes over this jar, he finally dropped into it a lighted brand, repeating his former cries. He then drew several rude figures of birds and familiar animals round the outer edge of the circle.

754 787 935 Finding no result, he now seized his drum, and agitated it violently, causing a loud rattling from the stones contained in its interior, his two assistants accompanying him on reed pipes or whistles. In a few moments he began a wild dance, executing the most astonishing capers, jumping into the air, swaying his body from one side to the other, leaping from one foot to the other, meanwhile keeping time to his drum.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

By degrees, the dance became more and more furious, the contortions more complicated, and at length he broke out into a wild monotonous chant. This was kept up till human nature could stand no more, and he fell back in a fit, or state of coma, produced by utter exhaustion.

The attention of the crowd now became painful, every one waiting for some sign of returning consciousness. In about a quarter of an hour, the twitching of the limbs told of returning life, and in a short while he suddenly sat up.

When his faculties were a little clearer he again took his wand, and holding it loosely between his fingers, let it drop in the centre of the circle. Naturally, it fell across one of the figures drawn round the edge. In a short time he announced that the chief had been slain by an enemy who had taken the form of a black *cuita* (wild bull), and that it was necessary to sacrifice such an animal, when the evil-doer would immediately suffer for his act.

Six young men, near relatives of the deceased, were told off for the hunt, and with very slight preparations, they saddled their horses and disappeared into the night, while the crowd gradually broke up, only the relatives remaining to take part in one of those debauches in which every Indians' reunion terminates.

In the early morning, I took advantage of the comparative quiet to look for and make a drawing of the circle and figures drawn by the *machi* the night before.

The figures were meant to represent respectively, a horse, a partridge, a wild bull, a cock, a puma, and a vulture.

It is peculiar to notice that while all the animals are drawn with two forelegs none of them have more than one hind leg, while all the birds have three toes. The diameter of the circle was about 2 feet.

Soon after sunrise, the corpse was suspended in a wicker basket from a large tree which grew in front of the hut. A fire of green *canelo* was lighted under it and the deceased's wives appointed to look after it.

It was not till the morning of the sixth day that the hunters returned dragging with them, held by two lassoes, a black bull, about two years old. The victim was fastened to stout stakes near the spot where the corpse was suspended, and the whole assembly, which had quickly drawn together on hearing the news, joined in cursing and reviling it.

Meanwhile, the drunken debauch had been kept up without intermittence, and every kind of licence indulged in. The following day was appointed for the funeral. Every one was early astir, and busy in the arrangements for the ceremony.

A coffin was constructed of hewn slabs. The body (*alhue*), black and shrivelled, was taken down, dressed in new clothes, and placed upon a bier (*pilguay*) constructed of poles, over which a cowhide was stretched. The bier was adorned with branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree, laurel and myrtle.

The chiefs of the villages and the heads of families now brought their presents, consisting of liquors, maize, chickens, lambs, cheese, milk, corn, calves or other

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

764 aruchas of food, and laid them on the ground near the corpse. As each one deposited his gift, he uttered loud cries and lamentations, which were taken up and repeated by the women. When everything was ready for the burial the procession was formed. The bier was borne by six of the eldest chiefs, behind whom came the coffin-bearers, the remaining chiefs and near relatives of the deceased. After them followed the wives and general body of the Indians, numbering more than two hundred. From the moment the bier was lifted from the ground the whole assembly began to utter loud cries and lamentations (*ocuras*) which were kept up at intervals during the whole ceremony. The procession was headed by the *machi*. The wild bull had already been dragged to the grave, dug by the young men with sharp-pointed sticks and wooden shovels. The cemetery (*ulwa*), was situated on a slight eminence about 300 yards to the west of the village. During the march thither, several of the braves (*mocetoue*), mounted on their best horses, and tricked out in all their finery, rode round and round the procession, brandishing their lances, and shouting fiercely to drive away the *kaxaxwa*, or evil spirits. On arriving at the grave the bier was placed near it, and two of the chiefs pronounced funeral orations eulogising the departed. They were frequently interrupted by the howls and sobbing of the mourners. When the orations were 754 finished the bull was sacrificed. Its throat was cut by the *machi*, who caught its 787 blood in an earthenware vessel, which was passed round among the relatives and 764 the blood drunk. The *machi* then cut open the carcase and tore out the heart, which was also passed round. Each in turn gave it a fierce bite and sucked a little of its blood, uttering curses and revilings as he did so. After it had made the round it was placed in a skin bag and hung round the neck of the corpse. The 764 young men had been busy meanwhile skinning the bull. The hide was stretched on the bottom of the grave. The latter was about 8 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. The coffin was placed on the skin and the corpse laid in it with the head turned toward the west. The cover, a thick slab, was placed in position and kept down by heavy stones, the cries and sobs of the mourners meanwhile increasing.

The presents were all placed in the grave, around the coffin. The grave was then filled in, each person as he passed taking a last farewell of the dead, and throwing in a handful of earth, some sprinkling a little *chicha* (cider) to the four cardinal points. At the head of the grave a *chemamelyi*, or wooden effigy, representing the deceased, was planted. It was crowned by a head-dress resembling in form the silk hat of civilisation. These figures are now frequently replaced by a cross. The favourite horse of the buried chief was slain over the grave, and both it and the carcass of the bull were left there after being slightly covered with earth. The funeral over, the crowd returned to the village, where the feasting and 578 debauchery were kept up for several days, more than one fight occurring, without however, serious consequences.

The hardihood of these Indians is astonishing. When they fall out they beat and hammer each other with extraordinary ferocity, neither attempting to parry

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

622 darkness, dragging their struggling companion by the hair, and showering blows upon her if she showed any signs of unwillingness to accompany them. The 787 following morning the sitting was renewed, and a number of small coloured sticks were distributed among the electors. Each man received two, one blue and one red, the colours representing the candidates. The eldest chief went round the assembly with a skin bag, into which each individual dropped one stick, the other being broken and cast away. When the round was completed the sticks were paired and thrown into the fire. After the pairing it was found that there were nine blue ones left over. Quilkumanqüi, whose colour was thus victorious, was now proclaimed the elected chief. More speeches followed, and the feast was kept up several days longer at the expense of the new chief, who not only assumed the title, but also inherited all his uncle's property, including the wives and unmarried children.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 the air with the invocation: "Accept this, Pillan." Molina (1901, p. 169) by way of exception calls the "Supreme Being, the author of all things," Pillan. Pillan, while in some respects fear-inspiring, was, it seems obvious, also helpful.

Pillan, in the plural, was also used as a term for spirits of the departed, especially the spirits of prominent headmen and ulmens, and, seemingly, at times for other benevolent or malevolent supernatural beings (see infra), and even for prominent men still living.

Other beliefs and observances:

(a) *Wekufú.*—Nearly all evil, particularly evil of a noncatastrophic, secret, subtle, or treacherous nature, was ascribed to the impersonal power or personal being or beings called wekufú (huecuvu, gñecubu, and variants). Wekufú, impersonal or personal, was always malefficent. In contrast to Pillan and gen̈echen, no cult in the way of sacrifice or supplicatory prayer was offered to wekufú. Rites in connection with wekufú, most of them carried out by the shaman, had the purpose of driving wekufú away.

774 (b) *Animistic spirits.*—A number of animistic spirits are mentioned
776 in our sources, such as Martupuantu (twelve suns), Meuli'en [wekufú] (whirlwind [wekufú]), Anchimallen arenko (a certain green toad considered as master of waters; also known as gen'ko shompallwe, and other names), Epuñamun (two feet), Ngoempiru (master of the worms). Somewhat different functions are assigned to these various beings by different observers. Meuli'en, for example, is usually reported as beneficent; Epuñamun, as god of war. "Maruapoantu" [781] was supposed, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 287), to give information in dreams as to what woman a man should marry; if he chose the one indicated, she would without fail become pregnant. Some of these beings were invoked in shamanistic rites; others, seemingly in nonshamanistic ones. Traces only of a solar cult existed; oaths were taken by the sun (*cf.* infra); the wife of the sun was believed to be benign. (Olivares, 1864, pp. 51–52; on moon as wife of sun, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918, pp. 45–49.)

In some localities, the puma was spoken of, not by its proper name, but by respectful circumlocutions (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 262).

(c) *Manistic beings.*—All in all, animistic cult seems to have bulked more largely in *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion than did manistic. The deceased ancestors, often called Pillanes, were prayed to to help in martial expeditions. Deceased shamans played an important part as helpers of living shamans. (See infra under Shamanism, p. 790.)

789 (d) *Magic.*—A great number of magical practices, apart from those followed in shamanistic rites, have been recorded, such as: Love and jealousy procedures; eating parts of an animal to acquire its qualities; rubbing the body with otter genitals as an aphrodisiac; transferring

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Hosmer, 1939, pp. 95–97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211–16); dissolving benzoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle, and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 229–61; 1913, pp. 266–69, 272–73, and passim in ch. 5.)

(e) *Ritual patterns.*—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Aspersions with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke.

(f) *Divination.*—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 316–17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 780.)

(g) *Omens.*—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a moro (*Agriornis lividus livida*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird singing at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877–78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 56) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52–53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 213–16, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 281–49; Hosmer, 1939, pp. 114–15.)

(h) *Taboos.*—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226–30; 1929, 2:155–66) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly.

(i) *Oaths.*—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The former were by Epecunchi (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1862, p. 88; Robles Rodrigues, 1942, pp. 61–62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41),

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5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

by the governor of heaven and earth (Robles Rodríquez, loc. cit.), or, it seems, more often, by his own heart, eyes or head, or by his father, mother, wife, or children (Havestadt, 1883, 1:149, 398; Robles Rodríguez, loc. cit.; Guevara Silva, 1898, p. 211; 1908, p. 203). Havestadt (1883, 2:709–10) described certain solemn pledges bearing some resemblance to gesture oaths: spitting on and then clasping right hands to bind a friendship; shaking right hands on committing someone to another's care to be taken to a fourth party; touching of a "strophiolum" (small garland?) by blood kin on both sides to denote that composition paid over has settled the matter. In some of the above oaths, a magico-religious element is fairly clear; in others, perhaps quite absent.

SHAMANISM

Mapuche-Hvilliche shamanism has been very thoroughly and critically treated in a recent paper by Métraux (1942 b). In the following outline, based very largely on Métraux's study, most source references are omitted, as his work, with full bibliographical data and extensive citations, is easily accessible.

The most common name for the *Mapuche-Hvilliche* shaman was machi. Other much used names were voigueboye and dngul (each with many variants). In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women (pl. 156, *top left*). In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women.

There were no shaman societies. In earlier times, candidates were instructed secretly in caves or hidden places by practicing shamans and were initiated into the profession at a solemn feast marked by the sacrifice of a llama and by an exhibition of powers. In the initiating rite, too, the initiator symbolically exchanged tongue and eyes with the candidate.

In more recent times, a person was called to the shamanistic profession by the Supreme Being or by a spirit through an interior revelation. A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her. She was then taught by a professional machi over a long period before she was consecrated. At the consecration itself, lasting several days, the candidate was given more intensive training in the formulas, songs, dances, and drum beats of the consecration rite. A rewa, a sacred tree, was put up before her hut. Among the very elaborate rites of consecration were prayers addressed to the Supreme Being or to the celestial shamans for granting of machi powers to the candidate, and exchange of blood between the shaman consecrator and the candidate.

The functions of the shaman were many: To discover the sorcerer or being responsible for death; to bring rain; to predict the outcome of

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

war; to discover hidden or future things; to bring good or bad luck in hockey games or horse races; and, above all, to cure the sick. In clairvoyance, shamans used a type of scrying, looking into a tray of water (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:135). Wonder-inspiring feats such as dancing barefoot on live coals or swallowing them were part of the trade (ibid., 1:144, 169). The chief instruments used by the shaman were: A small hand drum (fig. 85; see supra under Musical Instruments, p. 738) containing three or four sacred likan (bits of crystal or obsidian or other stone supposed to have been thrown up by volcanos: Félix

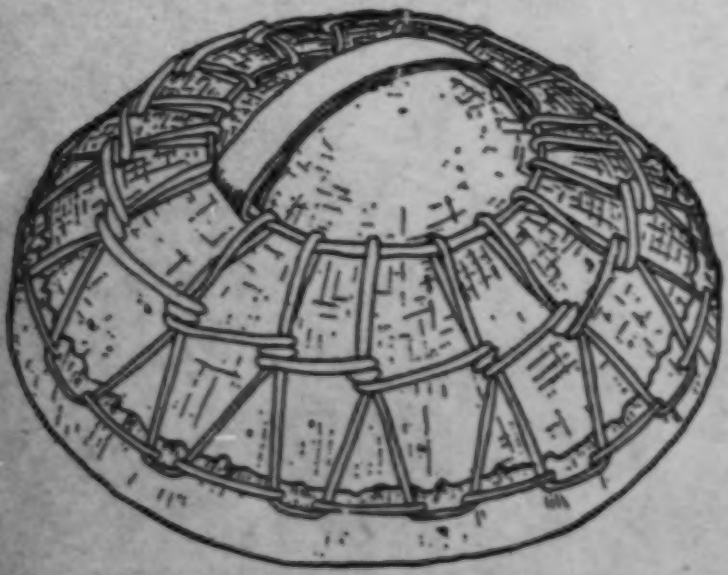

FIGURE 85.—A Machi's drum. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 30.)

José, 1916, 1:115); a calabash rattle; an iron bow with small bells on it (early recorded ca. 1742 among Argentine Indians: Morris, 1927, p. 195).

While the shaman's tasks were varied, the chief one was the cure of disease. Disease, like most other evils, was caused by impersonal or personal wekufü (cf. supra). Three theories of disease-causation prevailed: the intrusion of some object or of an evil spirit into the sick person; the stealing of the soul of the patient; the administration of poison directly or magically by a sorcerer. Evil spirits caused disease either on their own initiative or, more often, at the instigation of some sorcerer.

To work a cure, in earlier times, the machi had recourse to the help of his or her familiar spirit(s). The machi of modern times mostly

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of estado caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult postulation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pillánes hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñan depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three butanmapus. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucanía and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He sucked its blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucanía, and the sucking of blood was a

42 Gerónimo Pietas, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. 489-491).

43 Marmolejo, p. 172; Nájera, p. 48; also see Lenthéric, *Le problème chilien*, pp. 193-194. Cooper (pp. 743-752) makes a noble attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Bascuñan, pp. 39-41. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alonso Núñez de Pineda, maestre de campo general, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Biobío and fell on Chillán. They captured Bascuñan and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those many bush affairs, almost too romantic and dramatic to be real. He was befriended by Maulicura, a powerful chieftain

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all those women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it at once, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Collaripe area a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with fumes.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, an act called kofun.

Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the late cacique of Collaripe area died, at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 6 years old.

Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

The number of children in families in areas under my observation

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, 842
non-Araucanian thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex.

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be predicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy. 787 842

BIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had 775
wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had 845
no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips out of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 3-6).[1] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. "What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!"

FOOD AND CERTAIN TABOOS

In Colhuipe and Pangipulli areas potential food taboos were not 262
known to exist. In one section of Alepún area a pregnant woman 843
must not eat jaiba (conine), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of child-bearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy.

[1] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Bull. 148, 1952.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

867 she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

869 685 Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

787 273 276 438 Not all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink to excess, but I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were telling me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.' " Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Huenun in 1952 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Huenun: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the foremost of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would have cost us be."

ABSENCE OF PUBERTY RITES, MODESTY

861 The Araucanians have no puberty rite, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a puberty fast. Cognizance, however, is taken of

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

821 the beginning of a new moon, it will rain until full moon; but from full moon to no moon, then, one can expect fair weather." Weather was not predicted by activities of birds or other animals, "but sometimes when we go to the stores to do some buying, we hear them say that the weather is going to be unsettled, or so; persons there have read the newspapers." The bull roarer (rumrun) was not used to produce rain; it was merely a toy (pp. 105-106).

NATURAL PHENOMENA

It is believed that wind causes lightning and that thunder is God's way of letting people know that He has been offended. The thunderbird was not known to informants. According to Cooper's sources of the first half of the seventeenth century (1946, p. 747), dramatic catastrophic phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder, lightning, river floods, and tidal waves, were consistently associated with pillañ. An association exists today between volcanoes, thunder and pillañ. "Both volcanoes and thunder are called pillañ," said an old man. "One of our horses was born perfectly white," said another informant, "just like the volcano Lanín is white [snow-covered], and so we called the horse Pillañ. As a little boy I traveled to Argentina with my father. As we rode along he pointed at every volcano and called each pillañ."

Schoolchildren knew of no significance attached to isolated stars, constellations, or the Milky Way. An Alepúe woman in her forties called the morning star wün yelfe. "We have no beliefs about the morning star, except that when it can be seen we know dawn is nearly here." The Milky Way, called ropüapen, she had heard spoken of as a bridge in the sky. According to Cooper's sources, it was the heavenly river, or the road of the "fairies" (1946, p. 753). The Alepúe woman called Orion wülwitrun, a word which Félix José records as perhaps meaning the Southern Cross (1916, vol. 1, p. 251).

[787] An eclipse of the sun seemed something undesirable, such as war or the death of an important person—"a person like the president of Chile." The 100-year-old Collaripe man noted that everyone was frightened when there was an eclipse of the sun: "We feared the end of the world was not far off, but we did nothing about it; everyone sat very quiet until it was over with." According to Cooper, an eclipse of both sun and moon was spoken of as its death (1946, p. 753). An eclipse of the moon, according to most informants, had no significance. "No one was afraid of an eclipse of the moon; in fact, we barely took notice of it for people were asleep when it oc-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Every boy and girl learns to ride horses bareback—boys usually at the age of 4 to 5 years; girls, when a little older. (Pl. 8, *a*.) Boys teach one another. An older brother generally teaches his little sister, or if there is no older brother, an older sister will do so. An 8-year-old boy was seen teaching his 4-year-old brother. Each owned the horse he was riding. The older boy said to the younger, "Hold onto the mane with both hands, just as I do." Then he set his horse into a gallop by pounding the horse's sides with his feet. The little boy's horse soon followed, also in a gallop. Both galloped around for a while in the open space near their ruka, the older boy in the lead and the younger one following. After that the older boy brought his horse alongside the younger boy's and they galloped abreast.

On another occasion a 10-year-old boy rode around on his horse, bareback, followed by the horse's foal and another foal a little older. They were in an open, grassy space near their ruka. His two little sisters, probably 5 and 7 years old, were there also. The boy on his horse lassoed a tree stump with a rope and then galloped into a position to make the rope taut. The two little girls chased the foals toward the rope. The foals galloped to the rope but not knowing how to hurdle it came to an abrupt stop, at which the little girls doubled up with laughter. This performance was repeated, to the great amusement of the little girls. "Those foals are so stupid: they cannot learn to jump over the rope!" Then one of the girls loosened the lasso, the boy coiled it, and was ready to lasso another stump when a boy, probably 12 years old, rode in on his horse, bareback also. The newcomer galloped about the space a while, then made his horse rear to show off before the other boy and the little girls. Soon the two boys rode abreast, leaning toward each other so that their hands touched, which aroused the little girls.

Boys were clever in the use of the slingshot and seldom missed an aim; usually the target was a blemish on a rock, a leaf on a tree, or some similar objective. One boy shot a sea gull in flight, something he told with pride. Shooting small birds as a diversion was discouraged. No schoolboy had had the opportunity to shoot with a gun—only one family in the area owned a gun, and no one but the father was allowed to use it. Girls did not use slingshots.

HEALTH

CAUSES OF SICKNESS, CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH

An omen of ill health—and of death, if sickness already exists—is the cry of the chuñchuñ, a nocturnal bird. "The cries are heard by

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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many, but the bird is seen by no one." "In Quesale a machi was locked up by Chilean policemen because a chofichofi flew round and round a place, trying to get in. It was worrying the people."

All ill health, both physical and mental, it is believed, is due to the spirit of sickness, which is inflicted by a sorcerer upon someone against whom there is ill will. The sorcerer may be a machi (certain machi are sorcerers) or an outright witch, known as a kalku. The ill will may be the sorcerer's own, or that of a person who has hired the sorcerer. If a medium is used, no one but the sorcerer knows what it is. Many suspect it is the chofichofi. One instance was related in which the medium was known. "My wife's sickness [abdominal tumor] was inflicted upon her by a machi," said a man. "Here is how it was done: a neighbor woman [26 years old] cut off two opposite corners of my wife's chamall, and the machi used these to bring sickness upon my wife." Another instance was related in which the medium was not known. Four girls of two families were known to be jealous of a young woman because a man had married her and not one of them. When the young woman became sick her family accused these four girls of hiring a kalku to bring sickness upon her, and intended to hire a machi to discover whether these were the culprits. "Certain machi, you know, have the powers to make such discoveries."

In general, it is believed that the spirit of sickness is transferred from a sick person to one that is well. Two schoolboys, when questioned by their teacher one morning for the reason of their bruised faces, merely cast angry looks at each other. Girls in the school volunteered the information that the two boys had had an angry fist fight on the way home from school the previous afternoon. One of the boys then said, "Yes, when my mother was sick and we had the machitun made for her at our house, his father was there." "Yes," interrupted the second boy, "he was even good enough to help your family pay the machi by donating 10 pesos toward the price of your machitun." "Yes," said the first boy, "and then when your sister died, your family said that the machi took the devil of sickness out of my mother and put it into your sister."

Kalku were known to bring about an immediate death, or a prolonged sickness with gradual loss of vitality and weight and ultimate death, by putting poison into food or drink. Araucanians themselves warned non-Araucanians who worked among them not to drink milk or eat milk products, such as cheese; for an Araucanian with ill will might have put poison into the milk—neither taste nor eye could discern it. They were advised, too, not to eat eggs given to them by Araucanians, unless the eggs had been stored for three days. Poisoned

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucaniane SG4
Chile

754 Although all informants were willing to tell about the evil effects of black art, no one was found willing to discuss the manner in which it was performed—probably because of lack of knowledge or of fear of being suspected of being a kalku. When a man more than 100 years old was asked about the manner of exercising witchcraft, there was much quiet laughter and exchange of glances among listening in relatives, men, women, and children, and remarks were made in undertones in Araucanian. After some hesitation the old man said, "A kalku can be either a man or a woman. Kalku are wicked persons. I do not want to be asked anything more about them. I do not believe in them." Simplicial persons said that they had no belief in the powers of the kalku but noted that certain things that happened to persons and fields could hardly be explained otherwise. Even non-Araucanians remarked about this. Said one, "I myself saw a wheat field in Pucara withering away while adjoining fields were producing a crop. The Mapuche said that they had found rotten eggs in it; that these had been treated with witchcraft." Said another non-Araucanian in another area: "It is really true that an entire field sometimes becomes yellow, while adjoining fields stay green. How this can happen I have never been able to explain to myself."

A non-Araucanian teacher told the following as an example of transfer of misfortune through black art: "I have walked through pastures and woods with children. Invariably when we see a handkerchief or a piece of cloth—maybe it will be lying on a hedge or on a thornbush, or be caught in a fence—the children say, 'Do not touch that! Do not touch that! Somebody put it there to do you harm!' They believe that it is bewitched with the misfortune of someone and that anyone who takes it will receive the misfortune of that person, and that then the other person will be rid of it. I have seen such pieces of cloth or handkerchiefs rot away because everyone believes this."

DIVINING

● 787 Conjuring is ascribed to the machi, but occasions for resorting to it seem few. In the early days it was done at a machitun only; today it is resorted to during the machitun (cf. pp. 113-121 for the machitun), and also while the machi smokes or divines. "I know of no occasion," said an old man, "in which a machi changed her spirit into a sparrow hawk (hellenjelu); she might have chosen any favorite animal. Here is what happened: A woman here [in Chile] was told by another woman that her (the first woman's) husband, who was in Argentina, had died. The first woman wanted to know whether this was true,

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

787 and consequently hired a sendi to conjure. The sendi smoked, and then either in the smoke or in a later dream—I cannot recall which—she got the answer. She said the man still lived. The sendi had sent her witchcraft over to Argentina to find out. Before the year ended, the woman's husband came back to Chile. His wife asked him if he had seen any sign of the sendi's witchcraft, and he answered, 'Yes, I was coming through the woods one day when I saw a falkenfalk sitting on a fallen tree trunk. The bird sat there a long time and looked at me. I wondered why he was sitting there so long. What could it mean and who could it be, I thought. I went home, but I kept thinking about the bird. And now I have the answer.'"

OMENS

787 Both good and bad omens are known. Those related to sickness or death seem to have much significance (cf. pp. 119, 138), as do those that foretode famine. A 70-year-old Pangalpalli man told about one of the latter: "Any year that all the edible blossoms—normally only a few blossoms each year—die people are overtaken with hunger. This is unfailingly true; something happens to the wheat fields. We can never tell just when the damage is done to the wheat, but at harvest time there is practically no grain left to be harvested; it stands accordingly thin. Two years ago the edible all blossomed and that year we suffered plenty. Already now the people are saying, 'What will happen this year? Have you seen how the wheat is thinning out?' " A non-Araucanian farmer-in added, "What he says is true. But what happens, I think, is that rats and mice come to eat the edible seeds; they are attracted by the abundance of these seeds. We know that foxes and birds of prey come in greatly numbers that same year, and we see them eat the rats—but by that time the rats have already eaten much of the grain. The foxes become a pest then, they stay around and eat the chickens."

In Pangalpalli it is a bad omen if a puma comes out of the woods and walks into a glade or on some cleared land. "and walks around on it; it is a positive sign that the man who owns that piece of land will be forced to relinquish it to a Chilean," said the informant with some resentment. "The same holds true," he added, "if parrots land on a piece of land and do a great deal of chattering there." In both Pangalpalli and Alipulo areas a person who is making a journey on horseback can expect to have a good journey if the bird called chukau sings his call note to the rider's right; misfortune will befall him if the bird does so at his left.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

842 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

842 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the 787 fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

BIRTH

775 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means
845 that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PRENATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

843 The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos
262 or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease, for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One woman will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat meats and heavy foods, another cannot."

843 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos
781 or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

dealt with my children." A woman older than 100 years remembered that she once sent one of her children, a little boy, to a neighbor with a message which required an answer. He brought back an answer, but later she discovered that he had made it up himself—he had not gone to the neighbor. "I whipped him with a stick then for lying to me." Children lie today. 867

A child that stole was made to return the stolen object. This is done today. "But children usually do not steal; a small child does not know any better, and an older one knows enough not to do so." "A child so high [about 3 years old] that takes something must certainly is not considered to be a thief, but a boy whose voice is beginning to change or a grown-up man who steals is a thief. Girls and women did not steal; at least I have never heard of one that did." Nothing is done to a child that pilfers food: "That is really not important; he is probably hungry, and this is his home."

Intoxicating drinks were not given to children as beverages unless parents wished to discover the personality that was being developed by an adolescent son, or one a little older, in which case they might give him to excess an intoxicating drink known as chicha. A few families were known to have done so to a son who was only four years of age. If the boy, when completely drunk, grabbed a bottle of chicha, everyone present knew that in his mature years he would be a drunkard; if he lay down and slept, he would be a quiet man; if he grabbed a horse, he would do well with animals; if he ran around and yelled, he would be an angry and jealous man; if he tried to fight, he would be a quarrelsome man. "I once saw such a boy trying to fight with a tree." Parents will be frightened at their son's conduct and worried at the thought of his future—"but they can do nothing about it." Many persons were invited to witness the performances. Each boy was tested separately. Girls were not so tested. 787 273

Young men in their twenties were known to have drunk to intoxication but only with the express permission of the father or, in his absence, the mother. "Some men asked permission when they were 30 years old. Today no one asks permission; today some begin to drink at 12." Young women did not drink intoxicating beverages.

CHILDREN, MODESTY, PUBERTY RITES

Chums were not institutional, but two girls of the same age group in a neighborhood were known to be special friends; sometimes they remained lifelong friends. "I had a girl as a friend. We were about 14 years old, I believe, when we got to be friends; we made fire together and played together like all girls do." 572

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Argentina

534 gradually dropped after the Argentine army moved in. An informant in her seventies had not been paid for; neither had her 50-year-old son paid for his wife.

832 Love charms, such as nail parings or hairs of the one to be charmed, were not known. Informants had a hearty laugh at the idea. According to Kelapan, however, a man could ask women who were his relatives to take an unwilling girl, in a guileless way, to an underground place in which two sorcerers lived. These would impose a spell on the girl and then influence her to love the man. "From then on the girl would be willing to marry the man!"

787 Today, young girls in the area about San Martín de los Andes speculate as to the kind of husband each will marry, probably following a custom of Argentine girls. On an evening, especially the Eve of St. John (December 26), each of several girls will take meat from the bottom of a tea kettle, mix it with water, let a drop fall on a piece of paper, fold the paper where the drop is, put the folded paper under her pillow, and sleep on it. (Ink, if available, is used in place of meat.) In the morning the girls will read their fortunes regarding a husband from the dried blots; or they will take the dried blots to persons who have the reputation of being professional interpreters of them. If the blot, for example, looks like a dog or a person, the girl's marriage will be an unfortunate one; if it looks like the head of a horse, or any large animal, the prediction is favorable.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

585 Formerly, before dawn, by the time the sorcerers crowd, the man, his parents, his brothers and sisters, and many other relatives were already at the house of the girl. Soon after their arrival they presented the bride price, and, following this, formal conversation was carried on. "It took a great part of that day," said Kelapan, "until the many, many, many words were spoken that it was customary to speak before the man got his girl." Following this formal conversation an abundant meal of meat was served, provided by the parents on both sides. The man's parents and relatives had brought with them the heart of a cow or of a horse, which was eaten at the beginning of the meal by the couple in the presence of all that had come to the marriage. "All persons present saw these two together eat that heart; that was a sign to them that these two were now married."—In more recent years it has been the custom for the couple, and the parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, aunts and uncles of both bride and groom to squat in a circle and each take a bite of the heart.—When the meal

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

794 she showed signs of nervousness because of the noise or because of something she saw her children do. Likánrid did away with killing persons suspected of witchery."

I was told by an 80-year-old woman that she heard that a woman, a suspected witch, was coming to visit her. "I made a cross of garlic (ajo) on the bench where she was to sit. That kept her away from here," said the woman sweepishly, and added triumphantly, "and I have not heard since that she plans to visit me." The interpreter was convinced that the informant herself was a witch, for how else could she know what to do to keep a witch away.

796 Salinanderos, witches of "people who lived north of us," formerly lived in the Araucanian country. They were said to be small people, half human and half animal and were fierce fighters. They lived in certain caves (cuevas), traveled underground from lake to lake, "like from Lake Huechulafquen to Lake Lacar," and went from what is now Argentina to Chile through passages under the Cordillera.

796 There is a belief in kalquchúlun, which are called ampichimallen. "They seem to be made of fire, but they do no harm to anyone. When they appear they are all over, everywhere." "My mother," said a 65-year-old woman, "told me ampichimallen are round in shape and appear like fire. They leave small footprints in the ashes around the fireplace. When people see them or the footprints, they are frightened."

Several informants had had visions, among them Kalupan. "When I was a young fellow," he said, "I was herding sheep along a well-traveled road. Suddenly, before sundown, the sheep stirred. The sheep do when they are frightened, and made sounds of 'eh, eh, eh.' The frightened sheep do. Since sheep are frightened only when they see something bad, I looked around and then I saw what they were seeing. I saw a kalku, a woman dressed in black. By that time the sheep had scattered in all directions. Then the woman vanished. Nothing more happened that day. Another day, at sunset, a man and I were walking home—the man was no longer naked. Suddenly, we both saw a rainil (tree) turn into a giant man. He was dressed in black, too. I called out, 'What are you? A person? Living or dead? Are you a good or a bad person?' He vanished without answering."

796 A woman in her fifties had often heard old Araucanians tell, when she was still a child, that a woman who was still a virgin walked along a road and met a snake. The snake was walking upright, as all snakes formerly walked. The woman commanded the snake to crawl on the earth, and ever since then snakes crawl on the earth. The interpreter, a non-Araucanian, had often heard the same story told by old Araucanians.

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

CAUSES OF DEATH, OMENS OF DEATH

Of the causes of death, sorcery is believed to be the chief one. 761
Always a person is the causative agent. Quilaquina informants re- 794
ported an old man in the area of having brought sickness to some
persons and death to many. His activity was censured, but his method
of inflicting sickness or death was not known. Causes of death other
than sorcery were accident, violence, and poison secretly administered.

Accounts of causes of death always included a being called chuch- 763
chuch. The sounds of chuchichuli are like the call of a bird in flight and 787
are heard only at night; consequently, chuchichuli is spoken of as a
nocturnal bird. A non-Araucanian told the following regarding
chuchichuli as an explanation of one cause of sickness and death:
"These Araucanians believe that a person can send his intelligence to
another person in the form of a bird to do harm to that person—in
most cases to cause death. The bird they call chuchichuli. One morning
some years ago my Araucanian maid said, 'I am leaving. While in
the orchard last evening, I heard chuchichuli say "Tut, tut, tut." Then
he flew past me and said "Ih-h-h-h-h." Death will most certainly
come to someone in this place. I am leaving.'" An Araucanian in her
late sixties had heard chuchichuli say "Te, te, te, te." "Everyone," she
said, "takes notice when chuchichuli is heard. One will say, 'What is
that? What is that?' 'Yes, what is it?' another will say. 'Yes, that
is it!' says still another. Recently, at a wake we heard 'Te, te, te, te'
over there, then over here, and then over there. No one seems to know
what it is that gives that call. But whenever anuda chuchichuli intends
no good."

An 80-year-old woman reasoned: "But maybe chuchichuli is a spirit.
You can be sitting here, and suddenly you will hear him at your feet,
then over there [at the rafters], then outside. But you cannot see
him; no one ever sees him. His sounds frighten people, for they know
that new sorrows will soon die." A listening-in man, in his thirties,
added, "I have heard chuchichuli. He says 'Twi, twi, twi.' It is always
a total surprise when you hear him. I, too, have felt his presence at
my feet and on the ground close by."

In addition to the calls of chuchichuli, it is believed that death is
caused in dreams, and also by seeing a spirit or sensing its presence.
Kalaquin's father had told him that dreams that forbode death in the
dreamer's family are those in which a knife is broken, or a cow, horse,
or ox dies. "I have never had dreams exactly like those that my
father told me about," he added, "but I have had similar ones; and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

763 787 always following one, someone died. Before my first wife died, I dreamed that I was curled up with cramps, curled up like a newborn baby is. That is the position she was in when she died."

As an example that sensing the presence of a being omened death, a woman in her middle sixties repeated what her mother had told her: "A man was killed in a fight. After this his wife and baby lived alone —the baby was so small that it was still being tied to its cradleboard. They had no close neighbors. One night the spirit of the man came into the house. His wife recognized the spirit immediately and was frightened. The man squatted at the fireplace, ate, and drank chicha. The woman became more and more frightened as she watched him eat. She crawled backward to the wall of her house. When he finished eating he kissed the baby and vanished. Two days later the baby died."

A woman in her eighties often felt someone pulling at the hem of her skirt. "I believe it is my deceased husband who does so. Once I heard three raps which I discovered later meant to tell me that my daughter would die; she died soon after this. My sister once heard loud sobbing but saw no one. Following this, she saw footprints of a very small child around the fireplace. Later a relative died."

754 Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians believed that machi who were also sorcerers caused slow death by poisoning. The wife of a non-Araucanian estancia owner told the following (in 1951): "About six weeks ago one of our most faithful and intelligent Araucanian workmen asked for time off to go home; his brother was sick, he said. After several days he returned, very sad. His brother, he said, would die. Would we let him have lumber to make a coffin? 'Your brother may get well again,' I said. 'Why make a coffin before he has died? As long as he is alive, you must hope that he will recover.' He listened and then said, sadly, 'No, he will die. The machi treated him and said that he cannot live.' My husband and I and other non-Araucanians often said that the machi gives the sick person poison which will bring on a slow death; without fail, today, after the machitun has been made over a sick person, the person lives but a short time."

DEATH, WAKE, BURIAL, MOURNING

763 Formerly, when death was imminent, relatives came to the dying person's home, where they were fed and housed until after the burial. This tradition, to which has been added that of burning candles, is still carried out in Quilaquina and Trumpul. "This is often a hardship today, for it means slaughtering several large animals, of which we have too few as it is."

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun* ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patrilineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi* who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1956) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same caliber in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house. It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the limbo of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ñillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the supplicants.

In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead, it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

as evidenced by the thunder (of Spanish cannon) in the sky. They live and dress in the traditional manner. Their tools and other paraphernalia show no Chilean influence. And so forth. Actually, the descriptions of afterlife conjure up a picture of early reservation-period society and culture, by which time a number of important changes had taken place in the Mapuche way of life.

There is a universal belief among the Mapuche that spirits return to earth and make their presence known in dreams. These are called "dream spirits" (*pewma*), indicating another change in the essence of departed spirits. Sometimes their presence is regarded as a portent of evil—a sign of death, illness, misfortune—especially if a spirit comes in search of a particular person, as revealed in the dream. Still, if the person sought out has no special reason for anxiety, the return of an ancestor might well be considered a good omen, depending on the circumstances of the dream and the events of actual, day-to-day life experienced by the person. The dream is usually tailored to fit the worldly ambitions or fear, of one kind or another, of the dreamer. Spirits help their kinsmen locate objects, such as lost animals, misplaced or stolen items of value, and so forth. Such revelation is always interpreted as a good sign. Nevertheless, because it has returned to the world of the living, the danger of a spirit succumbing to the forces of evil is always present.

Returned spirits make their presence known in a number of ways besides their appearances in dreams. They remain near the house for the purpose of observing the living, to watch over their former possessions, or to take one of their family with them to the afterworld. People become aware of their presence through unexplained noises, household objects found out of place or knocked over, whisperings in the rafters at night. But there is no pervasive fear of the dead as such. The dead must appear in some guise associated with misfortune before the Mapuche become alarmed, although they are always somewhat uneasy about the possibility of a spirit's falling prey to *kalku*. A person who has had imminent death revealed to him by the coming of an ancestral spirit in a dream is not necessarily reduced to a state of panic—although this sometimes occurs—and might react in various ways. An old man or woman might become resigned to

42: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

775 787 763 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

775 769 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

769 776 [184] As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *füllatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contemporary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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burned and dismembered at the order of a *longko*. Nowadays they are simply driven from the community, since the people fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

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Animal Forms. The forms which evil forces may assume are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals, and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and recruitment of evil beings is thus circular and unending.

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The more common forms are mainly animals of the field and forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there are also a few unnatural forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the *chonchon*, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. *Piwichen* sometimes takes the form of a cock, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. *Wallepen* is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lives in the swampy woods and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The afflicted person, the victim, is sometimes called *wallepen*. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

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Actual birds, such as the *pequen*, *concon*, *killkill*, *huelen*, *wuthwuth*, *juwe*, *perimo*, and others are harbingers of evil, birds of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *loika* and *pitrin*. The *wiki*, *tregul*, and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

825 wilfu are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and
789 sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their
presence is a good sign.

776 *Arumko* and *ekeruipalwe* are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *anchimallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The *ekeruipalwe* is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phe-
787 nomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other acoustico-whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

[372] [763] 775 *Ghosts.* While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the conception and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

[858] [563]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

ancestral spirits "at rest." Alwe serves to characterize wandering spirits of the dead, as in the concept witranalwe, a soul or spirit doomed to, or in danger of, earthbound existence, as the captive of a witch. *Pelle* is used almost exclusively for the soul which is felt to linger around the corpse during the days between death and final burial. The term *wesa pelle*, evil spirit, suggests that the soul can become loathsome and even dangerous if it lingers too long.

Encounters with Malevolent Forces

Malevolent forces are everywhere present, but existent contact with them is seldom direct or at close quarters. When it is, the individual is almost always overwhelmed and dies. People found dead along the road or in the fields and woods are considered the victims of direct and overwhelming contact with the forces of evil. More often, however, persons merely have brushes with the supernatural—narrow escapes—and live to tell of their experience. In dreams one also encounters malevolent spirits who might capture one's soul under the direction of a *kalku*. But there are also beneficent spirits in the dream world, encounters with which are taken as a good omen. The most frequently observed supernatural agents, though, are malevolent night birds, seen or heard near one's house. Their observation, or the mere suspicion of their presence, has an electric effect in the household, and it is on these occasions that the most detailed and hair-raising stories are told about encounters with the supernatural. A few examples follow.

One night we were sitting around the fire, wondering if we should go to bed. Suddenly, the family became quite still and alert and immediately rushed outside the house, some carrying pieces of firewood. They threw sticks at a tree near the dwelling and shouted the name of a bird, *wuthwuth*. Although I ran outside too, I could neither see nor hear the bird. Presently, we all returned to the fireside and my hosts continued to reminisce about supernatural experiences for several hours, postponing sleep until almost dawn. While all encounters with night birds are not as dramatic as this one was, they never fail to invoke a restless and anxious feeling among the people, which

Lt: Faron E-4, 5 (195-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

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seems to be somewhat dissipated by telling stories of other episodes of a similar nature. These events are also told to neighbors and circulate in the community and beyond.

The following tale is one which concerns an encounter with witranalwe. It is a generally known story, and of especial interest because it illustrates certain behavior not predictable on the basis of formal kinship relationships. It involves trickery between two young men and their father's brother, in which a supernatural agent was effectively dealt with and induced to turn against his master, the paternal uncle, a rare example of a male sorcerer.

In the environs of Pitrufquén, there lived a rather wealthy man who had many animals. He also had a witranalwe to guard them in his absence. Near this wealthy man lived two of his brother's sons, who were poor.

One day, the rich man visited his nephews' house. They all began to drink a lot of wine and became a little drunk by late afternoon. They began to feel hungry, but the nephews had nothing to serve the old man. They decided to steal a couple of sheep from the corral of their uncle. One said to the other that he was a rich old man and that stealing one of his sheep, perhaps even two, did not matter much. They went to the uncle's corral together, leaving the old man in their house drinking.

When they arrived, they saw a huge figure on horseback. The man wore a very large, black hat. He had a large mouth and long, sharp teeth, and a big, penetrating set of eyes. He wore a Spanish poncho, also large and black; and he had a set of silver spurs with great rowels. Upon seeing him, one of the nephews ran away, but the other, who had a sheep under his arm, stood stock still before him. He fearfully asked, "Who are you, caballero?" The answer came in a very low and deep voice: "I am the partner of the owner of these sheep." The nephew then said that the owner of the sheep was his uncle and, therefore, "Señor, we are like kinsmen."

After this, the young man took a little more courage and spoke further to the witranalwe: "Señor, why not let me take this sheep for the fiesta in my house? My uncle is a very wealthy man, and the loss of one little lamb, which he himself will eat part of, will not matter to him." The witranalwe answered in a very deep voice, "Alright, but I want a bowl of *trutri* [blood] when you kill the animal."

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The young man assented to this demand, at the same time asking the witranalwe to help him carry the sheep back to the house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he told the witranalwe to return in a little while for the blood. The nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the house for the witranalwe. The witranalwe approached at a gallop, drank the fluchi at one gulp, and then tossed off the wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the secret to his master.

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There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation offers. Other encounters with *witranalwe* are often more lugubrious, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The Mapuche jokingly call *witranalwe* the mounted Chilean policemen, who sometime ride the roads at night between towns, dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of levity in recounting tales of meetings with *witranalwe* and other *wekufe*, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying. After a startling experience, people can return to the relative security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits. They are everpresent, however, and must be dealt with continually. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

775 787 522 [578].

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is the *shompalwe* described earlier. In the Liumalla region, south of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my residence of a young woman lost to a male *shompalwe*. A woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night. The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *ekompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *weke kuako* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *ekompalwe* had taken all but her *foot* into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

for the shampulwe, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, emotionally on the prowl to obtain victims.

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be persistently exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sicken from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse.

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption.

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding

12: Faron E-4,3 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa ñam*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *weküfe* is always with them. Almost every human—from newborn's point of view—has to die.

When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *l'epun*; once out of the house, on the communal field, it is called *pelle* (among other names). The point is, fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *ampellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is extensively and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *weküfe*. When there are signs that the *weküfe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'epun*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, resourceful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *konas pinke nymolire* before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

12: Farm E-4.3 (1934-1934) 1964
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cave (a stage-entitled and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by ancestors and the world's founders (pillar).

The medium must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (therapeutician) who tells the medium the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the medium is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes [illegible] but could not [illegible] her own through her. It is said that mediums used to [illegible] but could in their mouths and were able to talk backward like glowing embers. Also, they customarily blow tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe.

The medium enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (leaves), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible evil essences darts have entered, and sprinkling water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (machibue). Most cases are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. Machi agree that supernatural curing calamity there and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (am) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a kalku and turned against the machi, and the machi's kamal soul might be captured by a kalku, whereupon the machi herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

Nowadays, the vast majority of machi are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

noted the domestic scene. Their husbands showed them greater than ordinary consideration, listened to their opinions in a somewhat subservient manner, and remained largely in the background except when spoken to and called upon to assist their wives.

Shamanistic lore is sometimes learned from one's mother or a woman on the mother's side of the family, but a *machi* does not, according to the few genealogies I was able to obtain, inherit power from one's mother or from a close kinswoman. I will consider this obviously significant concept later in the chapter. Whatever the nature of inheritance, whether or not a woman trains to become a *machi* depends on her personal capabilities and special qualities, as well as on the availability of a teacher who appreciates them, and the willingness or ability of her parents to pay the cost of instruction. All *machi*, and therefore, all neophytes, must demonstrate exceptional sensitivity to dream experiences, perspicacity in interpersonal relationships, good memories, and adeptness in making herbal remedies for most common illnesses. Much of their reputation in curing the more common fevers and malaise depends on their store of remedies: only *machi* with extraordinary ability to enter trance are sought out for the curing of illnesses which appear to forebode death.

Training includes the mastery of lengthy and intricate orations and songs (partly in a special language) and the concoction of appropriate remedial potions. As neophytes, young women perform a series of menial chores, such as heating the *machi*'s drum to tighten the skin, gathering herbs, and preparing medicines under their teacher's supervision. They spend long hours committing to memory the various incantations. The most difficult and crucial part of their training is developing an ability to induce trance, for which there is no use made of narcotics. Finally, a *machi* must perform before her teacher and other *machi*, proving her ability, in a ceremony variously called *machitun*, *machipurun* (most common), *pillantun*, or *ñe-kurewen*, during which she becomes symbolically united with the sacred branches of the cinnamon (*canelo*) tree.

Shamans sometimes train their own daughters, provided they have suitable qualities of alertness and a proclivity for handling

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my lake [father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to explain things to me. I told another machi about my dream, and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never slept with her. She taught me many things. 756 159 787

Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again, and used to dream about my lake, the machi. The woman I was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I stayed. I finally came to Pelchue [Toltén], where I married a widow with children—these. Now I have several children by my own women. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her husband live with me and take care of things. 756 159

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to let out the wekufe. I think they are still with him. He was very crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean] could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona. Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently have very good dreams. 756 159 787 [752]

This machi also said that he had been possessed only a few times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the *pillan*. He would visit a very sick person in his house, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and then cure according to the dictates of the dream—cures which often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself. [762] [757]

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, and so on, are either treated at home by a *matrona*, or by a Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a machi. 75

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

machi. The latter is often called upon to assist at difficult births, if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1. e. the machi -- Analyst]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

operations, merely the shaman's professional knowledge. There are many old men and women who have a store of knowledge about medicinal plants which vies with that of the *machi*, but they have no power and receive no payment for their assistance. 755 756

When illness is serious, especially of a very painful nature or accompanied by high fever, a *machi* will be called in by the person's family to make a diagnosis and effect a cure. This involves a fairly elaborate ceremony (*machitun* or *pillantun*) which may last a day or more. *Machi* are well rewarded for their services, when successful, but their reputation suffers when they fail. People become suspicious of them if they have a series of failures. For this reason a *machi* will be very careful to diagnose illness before attempting a cure. If she decides that the patient is likely to recover if properly treated, she will proceed with the cure. If the patient seems too near death, the *machi* will often decline to take the case and beg off on the grounds that she has been called in too late or even that she is not sure her power is strong enough. This calculated bit of honesty raises the percentage of her cures and, as well, her status in the community.

The reaction to a shaman is recorded in the following vignette as told by a man of about fifty-five years of age: 755 756 159

Many years ago I was very sick. They called a machi to hold a machitun. She came and looked me all over. There were many of my father's brothers present who talked to the machi about me and the ceremony. All of them agreed that a machitun should be held.

The machi gave orders to the thungulmachin to bring herbs, urine, canelo leaves, and other things from her house to my father's. Meanwhile, they danced around the house and shouted at the wekufe. All the while they drank a lot of chicha to make the cure effective. The machi drank and smoked her pipe.

I was very sick that night. The next day the thungulmachin returned with the things he was sent for. I was made to inhale chili-pepper smoke to clear my head and lungs. The machi rubbed me with the sacred leaves and putrid urine. She prayed over me for two days. I became worse. They chased the machi away when she told them they had not called her in time, and they did not pay her. They called a priest of the church [Catholic] who came the next day to see me. That night, before he came, I saw an anchimallen. It was standing in a [787]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

755 corner of the house looking directly at me. Nobody else saw it.
756 I was too sick to tell them it was there. It wore a coffee-colored
159 chamal wrapped around it, long hair which reached almost to
787 the ground, and it was very ugly. It was no more than two feet high.

When I finally told my father that I had seen the anchimallen, he became very [illegible] and wanted to recall the machi. The others told him it would be better to wait for the priest, since the machi would not return to the house where she was insulted. My father compromised. He said that he wanted to get me out of the house, away from the anchimallen, to another house where the machi would visit if the priest failed to come. They carried me to my uncle's house, which was nearby. It is there that the priest came to see me the next day. After talking to the priest and taking the medicine he gave me, I never saw the anchimallen again. The priest chased it away with the cross and the Bible. I have never seen the wekufe since.

755 The greatest danger in all cases of serious illness is "soul-
[753] loss." Because of the weakened condition of the person in either illness or sleep, the soul (*am*) is exposed to the forces of evil, which may capture it. Fever is often felt to be caused by the grappling between the soul and these extraneous forces. The *machi* dispels the evil, reduces the fever. First she diagnoses the exact cause of illness. The exactness of diagnosis is one thing which serves to differentiate her from other practitioners, such as *matronas* and Chilean doctors. If the *wekufe* possess the body, the *machi* drives them out. If they have captured the soul, she recovers it if possible. This is initiated by incantation.
[782] *Nenechen* is prayed to and the *machi*'s familiars (*pillan*) are pressed into service through her power, or at least through her sensitivity and her ability to commune with them.

[753] Soul-loss, therefore, is considered the most serious of all illness, because especially strong power is needed to retrieve the soul from the hands of the *kalku* before it is contaminated and irrevocably lost. Protecting the soul from falling into the *kalku*'s power is a different kind of task, signalized by the recovery of
755 someone from a lesser illness. One case in which a *machi* failed
159 to retrieve the soul of her patient was described to me by a
756 forty-year-old man. I relate it below in much abbreviated form.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

thungulmachin. She told my father that only the kalku could repricve the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She said that she could do nothing, but that my father should call upon his own ancestors and ñenechen. Two days later my sister died.

When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Exactness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher, the *kalku*'s client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a *thungulmachin*.

My father was a thungulmachin, a machi's helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been taken by a kalku, and that he might become an anchimallen, since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lakutun naming ceremony].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [a water spirit]. The people were happy he had not been taken by a kalku. They paid my father well.

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly nonspecific interpretation of this sort. *Machi* say that they do not perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, autopsy or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the vignettes above. In the darkened room, the (denied) ventriloquism was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw straw on the fire and, as corners of the room became lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was *koftun*—emasculation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *koftun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "international" power of the *machi*.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

75 time, during which the *machi* is in some danger from the *kalku*. Upon agreeing to conduct a *kalkutun*, the *machi* requests the
75 victim's family to bring saliva, eyebrows, finger- and toenail
787 parings, and head hairs which have been saved by them for this purpose. The *machi* is entrusted with these items for a year. After the year has passed, these objects begin to "speak" to her of the cause of death. The *machi* calls the victim's family around her to listen to these objects. Those present are able to understand only a small part of what the objects are saying. In the course of her performance, the *machi* reveals, through the objects, the *kalku* who is responsible for the victim's death, and
[683] also suggests the proper manner of killing the *kalku*. This is as far as the *machi* goes, unless she is one of the rare ones willing to undertake the supernatural murder of the witch. In any case, the family returns home armed only with the *kalku*'s general (and stereotyped) description and notice of her general whereabouts, for the *machi* does not furnish the *kalku*'s name or that of the *kalku*'s client.

754 It is up to the family to take further action against the witch
683 or her client if they choose. Seizure and burning was the traditional manner in which *kalku* were disposed of in the past, but the Chilean police force has put an end to that. The witch-burning tales told by informants do not relate their own experiences, usually, but those of their fathers and grandfathers. When direct action is taken against a witch today, the family of the victim does so by hiring the services of another *kalku* to practice counter magic. However, this action has drawbacks. *Kalku* are rather prone to loyalty to one another, for one thing, and it might be difficult to find a professional witch who admits to being a powerful *kalku*. Should a *kalku* be approached and then refuse to lend assistance, the would-be client considers himself in some danger. *Kalku* are available for doing harm to ordinary people, but usually balk at combatting one of the sisterhood.

751 *Machi* performances themselves are dangerous to participants and spectators, since anyone connected with the manipulation of spirits is considered exposed to supernatural danger. There are somewhat effective safeguards that people may employ, which at least limit or reduce supernatural danger. Recently,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

In Araucanian, *kuk* means "hand," *wele* means "left," and *man* means "right." *Welekuk* and *mankuk*, or simply *wele* and *man*, with *kuk* understood, signify respectively "left hand" and "right hand." There is an unmistakable and literal connection between left and evil and right and good. For example, *piuke-man* (*piuke*: heart) is an expression equivalent to *kume piuke* (*kume*: good) and means "pure in heart," "free from evil." *Wesa* (evil) and *wele* (left) are also used interchangeably. *Welenkin*, for example, refers to leftness and means a heart palpitation which forebodes evil or misfortune. Similarly, *welethurgun* (left talk) means to speak evil (especially of one's self in contemplation of suicide). An "evil-headed" or "crazy" person (possessed of evil forces) is alternately called *wesa lonko* or *wele lonko*. In a small number of other words there is also this literal connection between handedness and qualities of good and evil, but permissible improvisations actually would extend the number of such expressions infinitely. For the most part, however, the association is analogical in a conceptual scheme in which phenomena associated with evil are linked to the left half of the universe and those associated with good linked with the right. The right hand column in Table I contains obviously good phenomena and the left their complementary opposites, as these entries are paired by the Mapuche. They constitute a partial expression of the overall dualistic order of the Mapuche universe.

There are other clear-cut right-left associations from which analogies may be drawn. When, for example, ancestral spirits appear as hawks of the sun, in answer to a ritual summons or in a dream, they may make peculiarly significant gyrations to indicate the propitiousness of some act or plan or the effectiveness of ritual supplication. Whatever the motivation, if they circle to the right it is taken as a good omen, as an indication that events will go well, that prayers will be answered. If they circle to the left, prayers will not be answered, evil is foreshadowed. Some human error, some sin, is indicated—perhaps a sorcerer undiscovered at a funeral or fertility rite. If so, further propitiation is called for, the stigma of impurity or ritual imperfection lingering until a compensatory ritual is held. The Mapuche do not, however, erect insurmountable barriers to their

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapucho

own well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, their mitigation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it.

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presage ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune.

During *ñillatun* the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *ñillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *konchotun* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood.

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, *tren tren*, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 439

was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

T A 787 825

T [158]

A 361

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Chocoeque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

T A 133 137